1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

551

Tâlsa yahola.
Tâlwa hadjo, "Town hadjo."
Tâmi fiksiko.
Tâmi hadjo.
Tâmi yahola.
Tâpâsola hadjo (abbr. Tapâs hadjo), "Daddy-long-legs hadjo."
Taskik hadjo, "Tuskegee hadjo."
Tâski heniha (abbr. Tâskiniha).[55b]
Tâskona.
Tciaha hadjo, "Chiaha hadjo."
Tciloki fiksiko (?)[55c]
Tciloki hadjo.
Tciloki yahola (?).
Tcito hadjo, "Snake hadjo."
Tcugati fiksiko (Tcugati perhaps means "imprisoned.")
Tcuska fiksiko, "Post oak fiksiko."
Tcuska hadjo.
Tcuska heniha.
Tcuska yahola.
Tcugati hadjo.
Tcugati yahola.
Tcugatutci.
Tcula fiksiko, "Fox fiksiko."
Tcula hadjo.
Tcula yahola.
Tcuwastai hadjo.
Totka bahi, "To apply fire" (or "To add fire to fire").
Totka bahi hadjo.[55d]
Totka hasi, "Old fire."
Totkis hadjo, "Fire hadjo."[55e]
Tukaba'tci fiksiko, "Tukabahchee fiksiko."
Tukaba'tci hadjo.
Tukaba'tci yahola.
Tukolisi, "Spotted."
Tukolis hadjo, "Spotted hadjo."
Wâtula tcâpko, "Tall crane."
Wôksi hadjo.
Wôksi miko (?).
Wôksi yahola.
Wotko fiksiko, "Raccoon fiksiko."
Wotko hadjo.
Wotko yahola.
Wotkotci, "Little raccoon."
Yaha fiksiko, "Wolf fiksiko."
Yaha hadjo
Yaha tâstânâgi.
Yahola fiksiko.
Yahola hadjo.
Yaholutci.
Yatâwa hadjo.
Yufala fiksiko, "Eufaula fiksiko."
Yufala hadjo.[55f]

[726]

Stiggins says that in the first attack on Fort Mimms a party of Creeks rushed into the very center of the fort, and all were killed except one man who afterwards had the name bestowed upon him by his town of "*Na ho mah tee o thle ho bo yer*, which is the foremost man in danger in time of battle."[56]

Great numbers of Creek personal names appear in early documents and historical narratives dealing with the Southeast, but in many cases they are so badly misspelled or so unusual that they can not be translated. Sometimes it is impossible to say whether we have to deal with the boy's name or the war title. Among those that may be made out are the following:

Abi'ka miko(?)
Akfâski tâski heniha.
Âlbama tâstânâgi, "Alabama tâstânâgi."
Asin yahola, "Black drink yahola."
Atâs miko, "Atasi miko."
Faki hasti hadjo, "Black earth hadjo," a Seminole chief.
Fâlotki(?)

[55b] Tâski probably has reference to war.
[55c] See p. 188 et seq.
[55d] This was the name of G. W. Grayson's father.
[55e] The Creek name of Sam Moniac who figures in early Creek history and signed the treaty of 1790.
[55f] The Indian name of Lewis Prosier, head of the "Snake" or conservative faction among the Creeks.
[56] Stiggins, MS.: *Ho mah tee* is probably home'ta, "a chief or leader;" o fâlo or holi, "war;" and *ho bo'yer* hobayi, "far away." Mr. McCombs gives Hillibiya, "War Conqueror," as a very great title.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

642
646

last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.[81]

In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present." [82]

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

537
[554]

Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair:

[726]

"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomahawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing: and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc." [83]

And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

[81] Milfort, Mém., pp. 202-203.
[82] Ibid., pp. 264-265.
[83] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 64.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.

FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and the upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.[95] In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (átasa) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."[96] It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 398. [96] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 35.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek NNII

particular the earlier writers were at a better advantage even than in other matters connected with the customs of the aborigines. Perhaps no account of native Indian warfare ever published excels that given by James Adair. We have frequently had to remark on the excellence of his information and have often quoted him, but in this place he surpasses himself.

War expeditions were undertaken as early in spring as possible and lasted through the summer. Adair remarks "in our Indian-trading way, we say that, when the heat of the new year enables the snakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the savages are equally moved to turn out to do mischief."[97] He gives the following account of the disturbances leading up to wars and the method of raising and conducting a war party:

"Should any of the young warriors through forwardness, or passion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggressing party usually send by some neutral Indians, a friendly embassy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendship, assuring them that the rash unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation.[98] If the proposal be accepted the damage is made up, either by sacrificing one of the aggressors, of a weak family, or by the death of some unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a wasted tribe. If a person of note was killed, the offended party take immediate satisfaction of their own accord, and send back the like embassy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's spirit is allowed to go to rest, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendship clear of rust, according to the old beloved speech: but, if they are determined for war, they say *Mattle, Mattle,* 'it is finished, they are weighed, and found light.'[98a] In that case, they proceed in the following manner.

"A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by consent of the whole nation, declares to be such: he then beats a drum three times round his winter house, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large strokes of black,—the grand war signal of blood and death. On this, a sufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered person, immediately arm themselves, and each gets a small bag of parched corn-flour, for his war stores. They then go to the aforesaid winter house, and there drink a warm decoction of their supposed

[97] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 347.

[98] Says Bossu: "When there is among them a roisterer or disturber of the public peace, the old people speak to him thus: 'You can go, but remember, that if you are killed, you will be disavowed by the nation, that we will not weep for you at all, and that we will not exact vengeance for your death.' Such a disorderly life is branded among these people, as everywhere else, with the last degree of contempt."—Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 50-51.

[98a] Chickasaw ma, "that"; ali "it is ended."

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 [796] holy consecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, sometimes without any other refreshment. This is to induce the deity to guard and prosper them, amidst their impending dangers. In the most promising appearance of things, they are not to take the least nourishment of food, nor so much as to sit down, during that time of sanctifying themselves, till after sunset. While on their expedition, [785] they are not allowed to lean themselves against a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a sharp day's march; nor must they lie by, a whole day to refresh themselves, or kill and barbecue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their success against the enemy, by the bountiful smiles of the deity. To gain that favorite point, some of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, lest they should prove irreligious, and prophane the holy fast, and bring misfortunes on the outstanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days observed one of their religious fasts, but under the greatest suspicion of his virtue in this respect, though he had often headed them against the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the sanctified ground, without a trusty guard, lest hunger should have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raised the burning wrath of the holy fire against the whole camp. Other particulars of this sacred process for war, have been related in their proper place.

"When they have finished their fast and purifications, they set off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, as they march.[99] The war-leader goes first, carrying the supposed holy ark: he soon strikes up the awful and solemn song before mentioned, which they never sing except on that occasion. The rest follow, in one line, at the distance of three or four steps from each other, now and then sounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's song the more striking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the sight, and hearing of their friends. As soon as they enter the woods, all are silent; and, every day they observe a profound silence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their small black eyes are almost as sharp also as those of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they resemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promise them good success; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the supposed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the least censure. They reckon that their readiness to serve their country,

[99] "To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his outstanding company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by daylight; whereas, he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night."—Adair, pp. 99-100.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726

should not be subservient to their own knowledge or wishes, but always regulated by the divine impulse. I have known a whole company who set out for war, to return in small parties, and sometimes by single persons, and be applauded by the united voice of the people; because they acted in obedience to their *Nana Ishtohoollo*,[99a] 'or guardian angels,' who impressed them in the visions of night, with the friendly caution.[1] As their dreams are reckoned ominous, so there is a small uncommon bird, called the 'kind ill messenger,' which they always deem to be a true oracle of bad news. If it sings near to them, they are much intimidated: but, if it perches, and sings over the war camp, they speedily break up. . . .

"Every war captain chuses a noted warrior, to attend on him and the company. He is called Etissû, or 'the waiter.' Every thing they eat or drink during their journey, he gives them out of his hand, by a rigid abstemious rule—though each carries on his back all his travelling conveniencies, wrapt in a deer skin, yet they are so bigoted to their religious customs in war, that none, though prompted by sharp hunger or burning thirst, dares relieve himself. They are contented with such trifling allowance as the religious waiter distributes to them, even with a scanty hand. Such a regimen would be too mortifying to any of the white people, let their opinion of its violation be ever so dangerous.

"When I roved the woods in a war party with the Indians, though I carried no scrip, nor bottle, nor staff, I kept a large hollow cane well corked at each end, and used to sheer off now and then to drink, while they suffered greatly by thirst. The constancy of the savages in mortifying their bodies, to gain the divine favour, is astonishing, from the very time they beat to arms, till they return from their campaign. All the while they are out, they are prohibited by ancient custom, the leaning against a tree, either sitting or standing: nor are they allowed to sit in the day-time, under the shade of trees, if it can be avoided; nor on the ground, during the whole journey, but on such rocks, stones, or fallen wood, as their ark of war rests upon. By the attention they invariably pay to those severe rules of living, they weaken themselves much more than by the unavoidable fatigues of war: but, it is fruitless to endeavor to dissuade them from those things which they have by tradition, as the appointed means to move the deity, to grant them success against the enemy, and a safe return home."[2]

[99a] Lit. "Holy great ones."

[1] In another place (p. 313) Adair refers to this again and cites an instance in the war between the Creeks and Cherokee. Stiggins says that nearly a thousand Creek warriors were upon one occasion routed by 17 Chickasaw, thanks to an unaccountable panic with which the former were seized.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 379-382.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726
796

In an earlier part of his work Adair gives another account of the organization of the war party and adds a considerable description of the sacred ark:

"When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war-song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, those hinderances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

[783]

"By this eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instil into the minds of their youth—a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others, and purify themselves for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sun-set, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the said root—and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

the religious duty of being sanctified for war;[3] much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the same war design;—they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, with the consecrated things of the ark. . . .

"The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat, for the conveniency of the person's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, [just stated to have been three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height] and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetissu*, or 'beloved waiter,' feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war camp."[4]

In another place Adair says:

. . . "It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-reliques. . . . *Opae* [Hopaii], 'the leader,' obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sun-rise to sun-set—and after a fatiguing day's march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in

[3] In another place Adair says: "But a few weeks since, when a large company of these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohge, some of the wags decoyed a heedless leader into their holy ground, and they stript him, so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children (two nights and a day, till their obstinate parents paid the like ransom." (pp. 162-163.)

[4] *Adair*, Hist. Am. Indn., pp. 169-171.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 778 order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

"The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemey touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

727 "The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemeies scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

726 834 "The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains." [5]

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.[6]

726 Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

"It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

"The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success,

[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 181-184.

[6] Cf. Ibid., p. 184.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
726.

as their art of war is chiefly killing by surprise; confident that in case of a disappointment, their light heels will ensure their return to their own country. When a small company go to war, they always chuse to have a swamp along side of them, with a thick covert for their shelter, because a superior number will scarcely pursue them where they might reasonably expect to lose any of their warriors. When they arrive at the enemies hunting ground, they act with the greatest caution and policy. They separate themselves, as far as each can hear the other's travelling signal, which is the mimicking such birds and beasts as frequent the spot. And they can exactly imitate the voice and sound of every quadruped and wild fowl through the American woods. In this way of travelling, they usually keep an hundred yards apart on the course agreed upon at camp. When the leader thinks it the surest way of succeeding against the enemy, he sends a few of the best runners to form an ambuscade near their towns: there, they sometimes fix the broad hoofs of buffalos, and bear's paws upon their feet, to delude the enemy: and they will for miles together, make all the windings of these beasts with the greatest art. But, as both parties are extremely wary and sagacious, I have known such arts to prove fatal to the deluders. At other times, a numerous company will walk in three different rows by way of a decoy, every one lifting his feet so high, as not to beat down the grass or herbage; and each row will make only one man's track, by taking the steps of him who went before, and a gigantic fellow takes the rear of each rank, and thereby smooths the tracks with his feet. When they are convinced the enemy is in pursuit of them, at so considerable a distance from the country, as for themselves not to be over-powered by numbers, they post themselves in the most convenient place, in the form of an half-moon, and patiently wait a whole day and night, till the enemy runs into it; and in such a case, the victory at one broadside is usually gained.

"When they discover the tracks of enemies in their hunting ground, or in the remote woods, it is surprising to see the caution and art they use, both to secure themselves, and take advantage of the enemy. If a small company be out at war, they in the day time crawl through thickets and swamps in the manner of wolves—now and then they climb trees, and run to the top of hills, to discover the smoke of fire, or hear the report of guns: and when they cross through the open woods, one of them stands behind a tree, till the rest advance about a hundred yards, looking out sharply on all quarters. In this manner, they will proceed, and on tiptoe, peeping everywhere around; they love to walk on trees which have been blown down, and take an oblique course, till they inswamp themselves again, in order to conceal their tracks, and avoid a pursuit. . . .

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 "When the invaders extend themselves across the woods, in quest of their prey, if they make a plain discovery, either of fresh tracks, or of the enemy, they immediately pass the war-signal to each other, and draw their wings toward the centre. If the former, they give chace, and commonly by their wild-cat-method of crawling, they surround, and surprise the pursued, if unguarded—however, I have known them to fail in such attempts; for the Indians generally are so extremely cautious, that if three of them are in the woods, their first object is a proper place for defence, and they always sit down in a triangle, to prevent a surprise. When enemies discover one another, and find they can take no advantage, they make themselves known to each other; and by way of insulting bravado, they speak aloud all the barbarities they ever committed against them; that they are now, to vindicate those actions, and make the wound for ever incurable; that they are their most bitter enemies, and equally contemn their friendship and enmity. In the mean while, they throw down their packs, strip themselves naked, and paint their faces and breasts red as blood, intermingled with black streaks. Every one at the signal of the shrill-sounding war-cry, instantly covers himself behind a tree, or in some cavity of the ground where it admits of the best safety. The leader, on each side, immediately blows the small whistle he carries for the occasion, in imitation of the ancient trumpet, as the last signal of engagement. Now hot work begins—The guns are firing; the chewed bullets flying; the strong hiccory bows a twanging; the dangerous barbed arrows whizzing as they fly; the sure-shafted javelin striking death wherever it reaches; and the well-aimed tomohawk killing, or disabling its enemy. Nothing scarcely can be heard for the shrill echoing noise of the war and death-whoop, every one furiously pursues his adversary from tree to tree, striving to incircle him for his prey; and the greedy jaws of pale death are open on all sides, to swallow them up. One dying foe is intangled in the hateful and faltering arms of another: and each party desperately attempts both to save their dead and wounded from being scalped, and to gain the scalps of their opponents. On this the battle commences anew—But rash attempts fail, as their wary spirits always forbid them from entering into a general close engagement. Now they retreat: then they draw up into various figures, still having their dead and wounded under their eye. Now they are flat on the ground loading their pieces—then they are up firing behind trees, and immediately spring off in an oblique course to recruit—and thus they act till winged victory declares itself.

727 "The vanquished party makes for a swampy thicket, as their only asylum; but should any of them be either unarmed, or slightly

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

727 782 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly." [22]

721 554 From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute 726 body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they knew that their presence had been discovered.[23] On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw.[24] In the time of [722] an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands."[24] In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of.[25] He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped.[26]

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp 185-186.
[23] Ibid., pp. 318-319.
[24] Ibid., p. 319.
[25] Ibid., p. 320.
[26] Ibid., p. 320-321.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

ever we can get independent testimony from writers familiar with other tribes. As Adair's account is the best, I have chosen it as a nucleus about which to assemble the facts recorded by others. From the Alabama living in Texas I have obtained a little information confirmatory of what Adair tells us concerning the ark.

According to traditions they formerly had an ark which they took to war and which enabled them to defeat all of their enemies. When they camped they hung this ark upon a tree, or anything else, a short distance in front of them, and if a cry was heard coming from it during the night it meant that next day they would find and kill enemies. If the cry was like that of a woman, it meant that they would find and kill a woman, for the cry meant that the ark had caught the enemy. If no cry was heard from the ark, they would kill no one.

My informant spoke as if the tribe were possessed of but a single medicine of this kind, but there was probably at least one to each town and most likely more.

By the Indians of Tuskegee Speck was told that one of the medicines in the war bundle or "ark" "was believed to be parts of the horns of a certain mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after it had destroyed many of them for generations. These horns were believed to render the warriors immune to wounds. Another object remembered as part of the bundle's contents was cedar leaves, *atcína*. When a warrior became wounded he called for the *hobáya* to come to him and give him an emetic of the *atcína* which was thought to insure recovery. A wounded man had little hope for recovery if this could not be done."[28] The "snake medicine" is also mentioned by Hawkins,[29] along with a medicine derived from the bones of a supernatural mythic panther, destroyed in the distant past by the remote ancestors of the Creeks. This last also appears in the migration legend related by Chekilli.[30]

Before proceeding to the Creek customs proper, some scraps of evidence may be added regarding ancient Alabama war customs as contained in the traditions concerning their wars with the Choctaw.

The Alabama and Choctaw fought against each other for a long time. They used to take each other's scalps. A party of Indians would come near an enemy's house and hide, and, if a man came out of it, they would kill and scalp him and run off. They attacked on dark nights when the people in the houses could not see, and covered themselves with leaves so that they could not be detected even if the people hunted about outside. If a woman went down to a creek to wash clothing she would perhaps be killed and scalped by a man

[28] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 118. [29] See p. 439. [30] See p. 86.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

721 554 561 The best account of institutional killing among the Creeks themselves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:

"Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of hair and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

727 554 "When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

727 554

worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly.

721 554 578

"Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once.

726

"The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen.

727

"When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity.

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

721

"Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government." [21]

726

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

"They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The

[21] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 270-271.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

"I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hositlities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped." [2]

726 622 701 The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war to the civil chiefs. War "is always determined on by the Great Warrior [i. e. the Tástánagi láko]. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

[2] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 622 701

been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk.

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [33]

726

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says:

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanīdja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by [35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [37]

726 177 642

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which

[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.
[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.
[35] This is intended for toito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chicota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.
[36] Isti papa, "person eater."
[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 177 642

several towns joined. There was not before or after this time the same unity of action, not even in the Creek-American War. The general correctness of Milfort's account is indicated by numerous points of agreement with the facts recorded by Adair and the other writers quoted above; in particular the prominent position he gives the war club as a war symbol tallies exactly with every scrap of information derived from other sources. The war medicines spoken of by Hawkins and in Chekilli's migration legend do not appear here; they were probably carried only by the head chief, or perhaps only by the chief of Kasihta.

Milfort claims to have been instrumental in doing away with the custom of burning captives at the stake,[38] but from what Bartram says[38a] it is evident that it had begun to decline several years before. Milfort also says that he induced the Indians to rate the taking of a prisoner at three scalps which should belong to the captor.[39]

His account follows:

726

"When he [the head war chief] had made known the necessity of calling together the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red; that signified that a part of the nation, that is the young men, must hold themselves in readiness to march; for if the club had been colored red all over the entire nation would have had to prepare itself, something which happens only under extraordinary circumstances. The manner of painting this club red also lets each particular chief know at the same time how many men he must bring with him to the appointed rendezvous, so that the head war chief is always certain of the number of soldiers he will have at his disposal, a number which he regulates according as circumstances demand, and which he is able to fix absolutely.

[211]

"When it is thus necessary to assemble the warriors at a common rendezvous, the head war chief has a club partly colored red given to each subordinate chief; it is usually accompanied by a certain number of little sticks, which serve to inform the warriors who carry them into the different cantons of the nation, of the day when they must be at the general rendezvous, with the number of young men needed for the march. Each day at sunrise a stick is thrown away, and the day on which they throw away the last must be that of their arrival at the place of meeting; there have been few cases of delay in this general muster. In order to provide against every slip of the memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give to each chief every day the watchword, which is usually the name of the place and the day of the meeting. I am going to give here a more detailed account of this red club, to say how it is given and what is its use.

---

[38] Milfort, Mém., p. 219. [38a] Bartram, Travels, p. 211. [39] Milfort, op. cit.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

"Before the Indians were acquainted with firearms, they used in combats only arrows and clubs; they have now entirely abandoned these arms, but they have preserved the club, as a sign of war only, and have replaced it in battle with the tomahawk or little hatchet. 726

"When the nation is forced to take arms, the head war chief or Tastanégy has exposed in the public squares a club, part of which is painted red; he also sends one to each band chief, accompanied by a number of sticks equal to that of the days which must elapse before he must present himself at the rendezvous. The head chief has absolute authority in fixing this day. 726 796

"When this club comes, each band chief has the drum beaten in front of the grand cabin [tcokofa] of the town or village where he lives. All of the inhabitants repair thither immediately; he makes known to them the day and the place where he is going to light his fire; he repairs to this place before the appointed day, and lights the fire by rubbing two sticks of wood against each other; he places it in the middle of a square formed of four stakes, which is only large enough to hold the number of warriors which he wishes to assemble.

"At daybreak the chief places himself between the two stakes which face the rising sun; he holds in his hand a bundle of sticks. When a warrior enters the enclosure, which is open only on this side, he throws down a stick and continues until he reaches the last, when the number equals the number of soldiers which he needs. All of those who present themselves afterward are not admitted, and return home to take their hunting weapons, leaving directions where they are going to hunt, so that they can be found if they are needed. Those who thus present themselves too late are ill received when they return to their families, who reproach them for the lack of enthusiasm which they have shown in defending their fatherland.

"The warriors who are within the enclosure take there, for three days, a war medicine, of which I will speak presently; their women bring their arms and the things needed in the campaign; they place everything a hundred paces from the square; they add to these a little sack, in which is some corn or maize meal, an ounce of which suffices to make a pint of porridge. It is only necessary to dilute it with cold water and in five or six minutes it becomes as thick as porridge cooked over the fire: two ounces are sufficient to nourish a man for twenty-four hours. The savages make use of this porridge only when they are in the presence of the enemy, because then they are unable to go hunting.

"The three medicine days having expired, the chief leaves with his warriors, in order to be present at the general rendezvous indicated by the head chief. Independently of this medicine, taken generally, each band chief has a particular medicine, or rather

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition."[a]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

727

[a] Elsewhere Millfort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

because the circumstances do not demand the great one. It is for the sagacity of the chief to turn this superstition to advantage. 726 272

"This medicine, of the moral effect of which I have just spoken, has two effects purely physical. The first is that the Indians are very fond of getting drunk on strong liquors, and it is necessary to find a means of depriving them of these without exciting their murmurs. The medicine, great or little, offers this means, since, before taking it, they may not drink any liquor, a matter which they observe very religiously; and the chief, having the right to order it when he thinks that it is proper, can, in that way, preserve the utmost sobriety in the army. The second is that this medicine is really purgative, and the warrior thus purged is less endangered by the wounds which he receives, and which, in consequence, heal very promptly unless they are mortal. These people have still another means of diminishing the danger from their wounds, which is to fight almost naked. They recognize that a woolen garment, some particles of which almost always remain in the wounds, makes them much more difficult to heal and more dangerous. Thus shrewdness and religion, supporting each other, lend mutual assistance, and turn to the profit of those who know how to use them. [273]

"The Moskoquis observe, during war, a very rigorous discipline; they can neither eat nor drink without the order of their chiefs. I have seen them go without drinking, even when swimming across a river, because circumstances had obliged their chief to forbid it to them under pain of depriving them of their little war medicine, that is, of the influence of the talisman." [41] 726

"When they go to war they observe a very rigorous discipline. At the moment when they approach the enemy, they march in single file, the chief of the party at their head, and so arrange it that all the following warriors step in the footprints of the first. Even those are sometimes concealed by the last man by means of grass. In this manner they prevent the enemy from telling their number. When they halt or camp they form a circle, and leave open only one passage large enough to admit one man. They seat themselves with their legs crossed, and each has his gun beside him. The chief faces the entrance of the circle, where no soldier can go out without his permission. When it is time to rest he gives the signal, and then no one is allowed to move. The awaking is also by a signal.

"It is usually the head chief who indicates the positions,[42] and who has the sentinels placed charged with caring for the safety of the

[41] "I have already said that the great medicine or general medicine is taken before setting out."—Milfort. It is not altogether clear whether Milfort means that they were to be threatened with deprivation of the little war medicine taken internally or the medicine sack, but the former was probably intended. Milfort, Mém., pp. 238-240.

[42] Elsewhere he tells us that particular clans had the right to certain positions when on a war expedition. "These same [privileged] families, that is, the young warriors who belong to them, usually march to war ahead, and the war chief takes care to preserve this prerogative, unless circumstances compel another disposition. It is a means of emulation from which he sometimes derives great advantage." (p. 255.)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [43]

727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 426-427.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

combat. A cry, repeated to left and right, informs all of the warriors of the danger to which their chief is exposed. Immediately all of the bodies of reserves unite and march to the place where the head chief is in order to compel the enemy to leave him; if he is dead they would all die rather than abandon his body to the enemy without having carried off his scalp. They attach such honour to the loss of this scalp that, when the danger is too great, and they are unable, in spite of all their efforts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, the warrior who is nearest to the chief kills him himself, removes his scalp, and takes to flight uttering a cry which is known only to savages, and repairs at once to the place which had been indicated by this same chief whither they should retire in case they were beaten. All of the under chiefs, informed by this cry of the death of the head chief, prepare to retreat; and as soon as it [the retreat] is brought about, before taking any other measure, they proceed to the nomination of a new head war chief in order that the enemy may not perceive the loss of the first which they have suffered.[45]

Bartram speaks of a "royal standard" made of the tail feathers of the *Vultur sacra*, "which is called by a name signifying the eagle's tail." "This," he goes on to say, "they carry with them when they go to battle, but then it is painted with a zone of red within the brown tips; and in peaceable negotiations it is displayed new, clean, and white; this standard is held most sacred by them on all occasions, and is constructed and ornamented with great ingenuity. These birds seldom appear but when the deserts [i. e., uninhabited areas] are set on fire (which happens almost every day throughout the year, in some part or other, by the Indians, for the purpose of rousing the game, as also by lightning)." [46]

This can only have been the calumet, which was often detached from the pipe and borne about separately. It is not mentioned by the other writers as an article carried along by a war party, unless Adair has it in mind when he says that the Muskogee "had exchanged their bloody tomohawks, and red and black painted swans wings, a strong emblem of blood and death, in confirmation of their offensive and defensive treaty."[47] It may be that their swan-feather crowns were painted and worn in war but he nowhere so says. He mentions the war pipes, however, to which the tribal beaus used to fasten fawns' trotters, small pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock spurs "with the addition of a piece of an enemy's scalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the stem, each of them painted red: and they still observe that old custom, only they choose bell-buttons, to give a greater sound." [48]

[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 249-254.
[46] Bartram, Travels, pp. 149-152.
[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 282.
[48] Ibid., pp. 6-7

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 302 Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[49] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

726 789 Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

701 Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[49a] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tástánagi łáko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tástánăk hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tástánăkutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomāhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtūtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

[49] Milfort, Mém., pp. 33-34.

[49a] See p. 367 and also pp. 417-420 in the second paper of this volume.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

and headpieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields." [59] Farther on the Indians who came across the Mississippi to oppose the Spaniards "had shields made of canes joined, so strong and so closely interwoven with such thread that a crossbow could hardly pierce them." [60] The existence of armor and shields among the southern Indians is therefore proved, although they were given up soon after white contact because the introduction of guns rendered them useless.

In their fights with the Spaniards the Indians usually went naked, and they had carried the science of warfare with the bow and arrow to a high level, as the Spaniards freely testify. Elvas says: "The Indians are exceedingly ready with their weapons, and so warlike and nimble, that they have no fear of footmen; for if these charge them they flee, and when they turn their backs they are presently upon them. They avoid nothing more easily than the flight of an arrow. They never remain quiet, but are continually running, traversing from place to place, so that neither crossbow nor arquebuse can be aimed at them. Before a Christian can make a single shot with either, an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misses of his object. Where the arrow meets with no armour, it pierces as deeply as the shaft from a crossbow." [61] He adds that the arrows with heads generally broke on a target, but those made of sharpened cane would go through, and they would split against armor but penetrate it.[62] Cabeza de Vaca, in speaking of an encounter between the people of Narvaez and the Apalachee, says: "There were men that day who swore they had seen two oak trees, each as thick as the calf of a leg, shot through and through by arrows, which is not surprising if we consider the force and dexterity with which they shoot. I myself saw an arrow that had penetrated the base of a poplar tree for half a foot in length." [63] Says Ranjel, in describing the battle of Mabila: "The arrow shots were tremendous, and sent with such a will and force that the lance of one gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, made of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow in the middle, as by an augur, without being split, and the arrow made a cross with the lance." [64] By means of arrows on which flaming tree moss had been tied houses and other constructions were set on fire by the Florida Indians as described and illustrated by Le Moyne. The Chickasaw used another device to fire their town when it was occupied by the Spaniards, the same resorted to by Gideon. They brought fire past the sentinels in little pots, two to four getting by at a time.[64]

[59] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, p. 101.
[60] Ibid., p. 138.
[61] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 25-26.
[62] Jour. of Alvar. Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Bandelier Narr., p. 51.
[63] Bourne, op. cit., vol. II, p. 127.
[64] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 De Soto found the Apalachee as intrepid and warlike as did Narvaez. To Garcilasso, Alonso de Carmona thus described them and their method of fighting:

"Those Indians of Apalache are very tall, very valiant and full of spirit; since, just as they showed themselves and fought with those who were with Pamphilo de Narvaez, and drove them out of the country in spite of themselves, they kept flying in our faces every day and we had daily brushes with them; and as they failed to make any headway with us, because our Governor was very brave, energetic, and experienced in Indian warfare, they concluded to withdraw to the woods in small bands, and as the Spaniards were going out for wood and were cutting it in the forest, the Indians would come up at the sound of the axe and would kill the Spaniards and loose the chains of the Indians whom they brought to carry back the cut wood and take the Spaniards' scalps, which was what they most prized, to hang upon the arm of their bows with which they fought; and at the sound of the voices and of arms we would immediately repair thither, and we found the consequences of a lack of precaution. In that way they killed for us more than twenty soldiers, and this happened frequently. And I remember that one day seven horsemen went out from the camp to forage for food and to kill a little dog to eat; which we were used to do in that land, and a day that we got something we thought ourselves lucky; and not even pheasants ever tasted better to us. And going in search of these things they fell in with five Indians who were waiting for them with bows and arrows, and they drew a line on the ground and told them not to cross that or they would all die. And the Spaniards, who would not take any fooling, attacked them, and the Indians shot off their bows and killed two horses and wounded two others, and also a Spaniard severely; and the Spaniards killed one of the Indians and the rest took to their heels and got away, for they are truly very nimble and are not impeded by the adornments of clothes, but rather are much helped by going bare." [45]

Canoe fights took place at times, most frequently in Florida or on the Mississippi. The following from Garcilasso will give some idea of a canoe fight and of the strategy employed by the Indians:

"When the enemy had been some time following us in order to reconnoitre, they separated their fleet into three divisions. The troops of Quigaltanqui put themselves at the head, but they could not really learn whether he commanded them himself, although they often heard him mentioned in the songs of the barbarians. Afterwards, all the vessels of the fleet advanced to the right towards the bank of the river, and got the lead. Those of the first division immediately attacked our caravels, in crossing to the other side of the

[45] Garcilasso in Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 151-152.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

river, and covered them with arrows, so that there were several Spaniards wounded. The first division was no sooner on the left than it recrossed and came and recovered its place; nevertheless, always advancing beyond the brigantines. The second division, which crossed after having attacked with fury, returned to the right and placed itself at the head of the first. The third passed in the same manner, and having showered a quantity of arrows upon the soldiers, they rejoined those of their party and came and posted themselves in front of the second division. In the mean time, as our caravels did not cease rowing, they arrived at the position of the barbarians who had first attacked them, and who began to attack them in the same manner as before. The others also attacked, each in their order and their accustomed manner, and harassed the Spaniards all the day. Even during the night they tormented them, but not with so much persistency, for they made but two attacks, the first a little before sunset, and the other before daybreak." [66]

726

A little beyond he records the adroit manner in which the Indians withdrew before a party of Spaniards who were advancing in canoes, suddenly rushed upon them from all sides, and upset their boats, thereby destroying all but four of the occupants.[66] Doubtless such scenes as these were many times repeated in desperate intertribal wars waged along this river and in the coast regions.

Peace making was, naturally enough, a prerogative of the miko or civil chief and his counsellors, as Hawkins says.[67] He adds that "peace talks are always addressed to the cabin of the Mic-co," and that in some cases, where the resentment of the warriors has run high, the Micco and council have been much embarrassed." [67]

728

The only accounts of peace making ceremonies of any length are two from Adair. They are in a way complementary but indicate some slight divergence in the customs under different conditions. His first statement is as follows:

"When two nations of Indians are making, or renewing, peace with each other, the ceremonies and solemnities they use, carry the face of great antiquity, and are very striking to a curious spectator, which I shall here relate, so far as it suits the present subject. When strangers of note arrive near the place, where they design to contract new friendship, or confirm their old amity, they send a messenger a-head, to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a swan's wing in his hand, painted all over with streaks of white clay, as an expressive emblem of their embassy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns

[66] Garcilasso in Shipp's History of De Soto and Florida, pp. 468-467.
[67] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.